

Message Text

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FOLLOWING REPEAT ROME 14250 ACTION SECSTATE
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QUOTE

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TAGS: PINT, IT

SUBJECT: DC SHARPENS ANTI-PCI LINE AS SUMMER POLITICAL LULL ENDS

SUMMARY: THE SUMMER LULL IN POLITICAL ACTIVITY ENDED
ABRUPTLY THIS WEEK WITH AN UNEXPECTEDLY HARSH EXCHANGE
BETWEEN THE DC AND THE PCI. DC DEPUTY SECRETARY GALLONI'S
BITING ATTACK SEEMS TO HAVE STUNNED THE PCI, ALL THE MORE
SO SINCE THE DC-LEFT LEADER WAS INTIMATELY ASSOCIATED
WITH THE DRAFTING OF THE PROGRAM ACCORD. CRITICIZING THE
PCI'S MEDIUM-TERM PLAN IN UNUSUALLY STRONG LANGUAGE FOR
ITS "CONTRADICTIONS" AND "TOGLIATTI-STYLE DUPLICITY,"
GALLONI WARNED THE DC NOT TO TRUST THE PCI'S BASIC SOMMITMENT
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TO DEMOCRACY. THE PCI RETORTED THAT SOLUTIONS FOR "REAL
PROBLEMS HERE AND NOW" WERE WHAT REALLY MATTERED,
AND NOT " ABSTRACT IDEOLOGICAL CONCEPTS." THE PCI,
L'UNITA EDITOR REICHLIN SAID, HAS NO "IDOLOGICAL
PRECONCEPTIONS." ALTHOUGH DC LEADERS CONTINUE TO SUPPORT
THE PROGRAM ACCORD, GALLONI'S ATTACK SEEMS TO SIGNAL
A MORE POLEMICAL AND COMBATIVE DC ATTTUDE IN PREPARATION

FOR THIS NOVEMBER'S IMPORTANT ADMINISTRATIVE ELECTIONS.
THE DC'S UNCOMPROMISING LINE WILL NOT MAKE IT EASIER
FOR THE PCI TO CONVINCE ITS BASE OR ELECTORATE THAT
THE PROGRAM ACCORD DOES INDEED CONSTITUTE A "FIRST STEP" TOWARD
FULL PCI PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT. END SUMMARY.

1. THE DC AND THE PCI ENGAGED IN A LIVELY SPATE OF
IDEOLOGICAL SPARRING THIS WEEK THAT BROUGHT THE SUMMER
LULL IN POLITICAL ACTIVITY TO AN AEND. THE DC
SEIZED THE POLITICAL INITIATIVE IN THE FORM OF A STRONG
ATTACK ON THE PCI'S MUCH-TOUTED "MIDDLE-TERM PLAN"
WHICH CALLED INTO QUESTION THE SINCERITY OF THE COMMUNIST
PARTY'S BASIC COMMITMENT TO DEMOCRATIC PLURALISM.
BOTH THE SUDDENNESS AND THE SHARPNESS OF THE ATTACK
SURPRISED OBSERVERS AND SEEMS TO HAVE CAUGHT THE PCI
OFF GUARD. TO THE PCI, THE ATTACK WAS ALL THE MORE
DISCONCERTING SINCE IT CAME FROM DEPUTY SECRETARY GALLONI,
THE DC LEADER WHO AUTHORED THE BASIC DRAFT OF THE PROGRAM
ACCORD, AND NOT FROM DC HARLINERS WHO COULD BE EASILY
DISMISSED FOR KNEE-JERK ANTI-COMMUNISM.

2. WRITING FOR THE DC JOURNAL, GALLONI DEFENDED THE
PROGRAM ACCORD AS NOT ONLY "NECESSARY" IN AN EMERGENCY
SITUATION, BUT ALSO FULLY CONSISTENT WITH THE DC'S
BASIC STRATEGY OF ENGAGING THE PCI IN A CONSTRUCTIVE
DIALOGUE. IN THE PROCESS, THE PCI'S BASIC CONTRA-
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DICATIONS (AS A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY WITH A SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC
PLATFORM) HAD TO BE CONSTANTLY EXPOSED, MADE "TO EMERGE
AND EXPLODE." GALLONI WARNED THAT THE DIALOGUE (AND
THE PROGRAM ACCORD) MUST NOT BE CONSTRUED AS PERMITTING
"POLITICALLY CONFUSING ATTEMPTS IN THE REGIONS,
PROVINCES AND COMMUNES" (IE. LOCAL POLITICAL ACCORDS
WITH THE PCI).

3. CONSISTENT WITH THIS STRATEGY, GALLONI THEN PRO-
CEEDED TO ATTACK THE PCI'S "MIDDLE-TERM PLAN" FOR ITS
"CONTRADICTIONS," "AMBIGUITIES," AND "PERSISTENT,
TOGLIATTI-STYLE FUNDAMENTAL DUPLICITY." HOW CAN A
JUDGMENT BE MADE ON THE PCI'S MODERATE MEDIUM-TERM
PLAN, GALLONI ASKED, WITHOUT KNOWING THE PCI'S LONG-
TERM PLAN FOR SOCIETY? AS LONG AS THE PCI IS COMMITTED
TO AN EVENTUAL, CLASSICAL SOCIALIST
TRANSFORMATION OF SOCIETY, HOW CAN THE PCI'S DEFENSE
OF MARKET ECONOMY IN THE MEDIUM-TERM PLAN BE REGARDED
AS ANYTHING BUT A TACTIC TO ACHIEVE THE NECESSARY
POLITICAL CONSENSUS FOR A UNITY GOVERNMENT OF ALL POLITICAL
FORCES? " WHAT GUARANTEES DOES THE PCI GIVE THAT THE PLAN
IS NOT PURELY TACTICAL?" THE BOTTOM LINE OF GALLONI'S

ANALYSIS IS THAT THE PCI DOES NOT YET PROVIDE SUFFICIENT DEMOCRATIC GUARANTEES, AND THAT "IT WOULD BE A GRAVE MISTAKE TO PERFORM ANY ACTION REVEALING WEAKNESS OR READINESS TO TAKE STEPS ALONG THE ROAD OF THE HISTORIC COMPROMISE."#

4. THE PCI'S REACTION WAS SWIFT AND ANGRY. IN A LENGTHY REBUTTAL ON AUGUST 30, L'UNITA EDITOR REICHLIN EXPRESSED "SURPRISE" AT THE COARSENESS OF GALLONI'S ATTACK WHICH HE ATTRIBUTED TO THE NEED TO APPEASE THE DC'S RIGHT WING. URGING THE DC NOT TO INDULGE IN CHEAP PROPAGANDA, REICHLIN SAID THE PCI SHOULD BE JUDGED ON ITS ATTITUDE TO "REAL PROBLEMS HERE AND NOW" AND NOT ON "ABSTRACT IDEOLOGICAL CONCEPTS." LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THE PCI, REICHLIN ASSERTED, SEEKS TO RESOLVE THE GREAT PROBLEMS OF THE COUNTRY BY PLACING ITSELF AT THE SERVICE OF THE PEOPLE "WITHOUT IDEOLOGICAL PRE-CONCEPTIONS." IN AN INTERVIEW IN THE WEEKLY, IL MONDO, PCI DIRECTORATE MEMBER MACALUSO ALSO DEVELOPED THE SAME THEME. "TODAY'S PROBLEM," MACALUSO SAID, "IS NOT TO DISCUSS WHAT SOCIALIST SOCIETY IN THE FUTURE WILL BE LIKE, BUT TO RESPOND TO THE BIG UNANSWERED QUESTIONS THAT MUST BE RESOLVED IN THE ECONOMY, SOCIETY AND THE STATE TO GET THE COUNTRY OUT OF THE PRESENT CRISIS." IT BEHOOVES NO ONE, MACALUSO SAID, "TO OPEN UP AN IDEOLOGICAL DISPUTE."

5. THE PCI CLEARLY WISHES TO AVOID AN IDEOLOGICAL DISPUTE WITH THE DC. SPEAKING TO A MEETING IN ROME ON AUGUST 30 OF THE PCI'S 135 REGIONAL AND PROVINCIAL PARTY SECRETARIES, ORGANIZATIONAL SECERETARY CERVETTI DID NOT RESPOND DIRECTLY TO GALLONI AND CONCENTRATED ON THE NEED TO MOBILIZE ALL LEVELS OF THE PARTY "TO OVERCOME CONSERVATIVE RESISTANCE TO THE COMMITMENTS CONTAINED IN THE PROGRAM ACCORD." THE ACCORD MAY NOT HAVE BEEN "A HISTORIC SHIFT," CERVETTI SAID, BUT IT WAS NONETHELESS "IMPORTANT" SINCE IT "OVETURNED A NEGATIVE, DISCRIMINATORY POSTURE TOWARD THE PCI THAT HAD LASTED FOR THIRTY YEARS." CERVETTI IDENTIFIED THREE TENDENCIES IN THE DC. THESE WERE 1) THOSE WHO WERE OPENLY ANTOGONISTIC TO THE ACCORD; 2) THOSE WHO CLAIM TO SUPPORT THE ACCORD BUT SEEK TO DIMINISH ITS POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE AND VALUE (SUCH AS THE DC SECRETARIAT AND GALLONI); AND 3) THOSE WHO FAVOR THE ACCORD BUT WHO THINK IT CAN BE KEPT "IN LIMBO", IMMUNE FROM WHAT GOES ON IN THE COUNTRY. CERVETTI TERMED THE PSI'S ATTITUDE GENERALLY FAVORABLE, THE PSDI'S LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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"CONTRADICTORY", AND THE PRI "OFTEN INCOHERENT" AS A RESULT OF ITS PROCCUPATION WITH BEING THE "CRITICAL CONSCIENCE" OF POLITICAL LIFE.

6. COMMENT: GALLONI'S ATTACK ON THE PCI WAS UNUSUAL FOR ITS IDEOLOGICAL FOCUS AND COMBATIVENESS, PARTICULARLY COMING FROM A LEADER WHO HAS A REPUTATION WITHIN THE DC FOR FAVORING GREATER ACCOMMODATION WITH THE PCI. WHILE GALLONI MAY HAVE WISHED TO REDRESS HIS IMAGE TO REFLECT THE DC'S CURRENT, HARDER LINE, THE DISCUSSIONS ARTICLE AND SUBSEQUENT TREATMENT IN POPOLO CLEARLY REFLECT THE VIEWS OF THE MORO-ZACCAGNINI SECRETARIAT, AND NOT GALLONI ALONE. IN LESS POLEMICAL TERMS, ZACCAGNINI HIMSELF ADOPTED A HARDER LINE IN REBUTTING "DISTORTED" PCI INTERPRETATIONS OF THE PROGRAM ACCORD IN HIS EARLY AUGUST POLICY STATEMENT (ROME 12872). ALTHOUGH GALLONI AND OTHER DC LEADERS CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THE PROGRAM ACCORD, IT SEEMS LIKELY THAT THE ATTACK SIGNALS THE BEGINNING OF A MORE COMBATIVE STANCE TOWARD THE PCI IN PREPARATION FOR THIS NOVEMBER'S IMPORTANT ADMINISTRATIVE ELECTIONS. GALLONI'S POSITION HAS BEEN ECHOED BY OTHER DC LEADERS SUCH AS GASPARI AND PICCOLI. THE DC'S UNCOMPROMISING LINE WILL MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT FOR THE PCI TO CONVINCE ITS BASE AND ELCTORATE THAT THE PROGRAM ACCORD IS THE "FIRST STEP" TOWARD FULL PCI PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT. THE PCI HAS THEREFORE SOUGHT TO AVOID AN IDEOLOGICAL CONFRONTATION. WHILE THE PCI'S UNWILLINGNESS TO DISCUSS IDEOLOGY IS UNDOUBTEDLY GOOD POLITICS, THE PCI'S RETICENT RESPONSE HAS ALSO RAISED QUESTIONS. PSDI CHAMBER PRESIDENT PRETI WAS NOT ALONE IN CALLING ON THE PCI "TO SAY WHAT KIND OF SOCIALISM THEY WANT, PARTICULARLY SINCE THE ONLY OTHER EXPERIENCE WE HAVE IS THE SOVIET MODEL."GARDNER. UNQUOTE VANCE".

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